
Books in Review *Jewel Bellush, Editor*

Civil Disorder

CASE STUDY OF A RIOT: *The Philadelphia Story*. By Lenora Berson. American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations Press, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, 1966. 71 pp. paperback 75 cents.

BLACK AND WHITE: *A Study of United States Racial Attitudes Today*. By William Brink and Louis Harris. Simon and Schuster, Inc., 630 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, 1967. 285 pp. \$5.95.

VIOLENCE IN THE CITY: *An End or a Beginning*. Report by Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots. 1965. 101 pp. \$1.

RIVERS OF BLOOD, YEARS OF DARKNESS. By Robert Conot. Bantam Books, 271 Madison Avenue, New York 16, 1967. 497 pp. 95 cents.

PEN AND PENCIL SKETCHES OF THE GREAT RIOTS. By J. T. Headley. E. B. Treat, New York, 1882. (Out of print.)

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE: *Chaos or Community?* By Martin Luther King. Harper and Row, 49 East 33d Street, New York 16, 1967, 209 pp. \$4.95.

BLACK POWER—WHITE RESISTANCE. By Fred Powledge. World Publishing Company, 119 West 37th Street, New York 18, 1967. 282 pp. \$6.95.

FROM RACE RIOT TO SIT-IN. By Arthur Waskow. Doubleday and Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1966. 380 pp. \$1.75.

Last summer was a relatively mild one for burning in the nation's urban ghettos, but next summer may be worse, with new twists and new horrors. Writers have been grinding out words, words, words, on the shame of the city until there is a tendency to tire of them. The tendency must be resisted. Though there may be no final solutions in the books listed above for winter reading, we had better

take another serious look at what has been happening and evaluate what may yet happen.

Race riots are not new to America. As early as 1712 New York experienced its first frightening phenomenon. Almost 100 years ago an historian wrote: "Not isolated as an inland plantation, but packed in a narrow space, they had easy communication with each other, and worse than all, with the reckless and depraved crews of the vessels that came in port. It is true, the most stringent measures were adopted to prevent them from assembling together; and yet, in spite of every precaution, there would now and then come to light some plan or project that would fill the whites with alarm."

One widely known racialism was the weeding out of the Indians (still in progress). The Irish draft riots during the Civil War led to burning of a Negro Orphanage and lynchings, with marauding and panic lasting four terrifying days. The riots of 1919 and the 1940s may be within the haunting memories of readers.

Violence itself may be as American as apple pie: the Stamp Act rebellion, the famous tea party, Shays Rebellion, the American Revolution, the Whiskey Rebellion, lynchings, the lawless acts committed during the move westward, labor's struggle for recognition, gang and national wars. Writes Hannah Arendt: "The magnitude of the violence let loose in the First World War might indeed have been enough to cause revolutions in its aftermath even without any revolutionary tradition. . . ." American politics has not always been a gentle affair; the politics of compromise and negotiations failed enough times to compel us to give attention to the nature and reasons for violence.

Additionally, we suffer from the false assumption that violence accomplishes

nothing. The confrontation designed by Martin Luther King, while designed as a "nonviolent" crusade and labelled by Waskow as "creative disorder," nevertheless constituted a serious challenge to the "law of the South." For the first time on a large scale Negroes massed in demonstrations, marches, boycotts, picketing and sit-ins. The King approach of brotherly love, turn the other cheek and forgiveness provoked white mobs to respond violently with barking dogs and steel prods. Despite these confrontations, there was a significant result for Negro participants: confidence in themselves, faith in their choices of real success swept southern communities. Negroes felt that they were about to win important concessions. Brink and Harris found that half of America's Negroes in 1962-1963 stood ready to assert their rights; they were not a handful of rabble rousers (Governor Hughes, take note) or "communists" (Governor Maddox, take note). They were even willing to defy the Puritan ethic—the disgrace of jail. More and more accepted it as a badge of honor to serve time for the cause.

But then something happened, or rather didn't happen. Southern protests produced great spiritual elation, a sense of moral uplift. In the process aspirations of large numbers of Negroes rose to such proportions that the gulf between hope and the brutal realities of everyday life created a gap causing the inevitable: Watts, Newark, Philadelphia, Detroit. The more Negroes "heard" of progress, the more the rhetoric contributed to frustration and anger. White America did not understand what they were trying to say. John McCone, chairman of Governor Brown's commission to study Watts, sadly noted how shameful it was that liberal mayors like Lee of New Haven and Cavanaugh of Detroit experienced upheavals and turmoil in their cities, since they had devoted much effort in behalf of the Negro citizens. *BUT* this is precisely the point

about this new revolution: it is made out of the stuff of hope and aspiration. And as the Negroes began to aspire, white resistance hardened, and the opposition focused on material things like education, jobs and housing. Real progress in the substantive areas of equality was hard to come by.

"Programs of progress" in New Haven, Detroit, Philadelphia and other cities were of little direct or immediate benefit to the Negro. What looked like a downtown city beautiful movement meant for the Negro eight different address changes. The largest per capita allocation (\$800) from the federal government went to New Haven—but the share to the Negroes was hardly visible. In Philadelphia, the nation's pride of downtown redevelopment, 71.1 per cent of those forced to vacate homes failed to find satisfactory substitute housing. The development coordinator had to admit that "the dislocated people created new slums."

The myth many cling to is that violence is senseless and pathological. Yet a race riot is sometimes "a form of inarticulate language in which one group of people *communicates* with other significant groups about its feelings, its problems, its life circumstances, its desperation." The participants are trying to say "we want our share." When the appliance and furniture stores were sacked last summer, didn't the very selections of the items indicate that the looters were demanding what the more affluent possessed? What a way to redistribute income!

Finally, who became participants in the violence? In essence a riot is a social happening in which different people are provided with different opportunities for participation. There is no one type—the sniper, the police attacker, the looter and the sympathetic bystander are all familiar to Philadelphia, Detroit and Watts. Each had different purposes. They were not only young hoods—Conat's Watts

crowd were largely over twenty-five, and a good many were employed. What must be underscored is the fact that all the residents of our lower class black ghettos are potential participants. They don't have to be organized. The speed of communication—press headlines and T.V. cameras—is sufficient to spread the word that something is happening and it is contagious.

Intergovernmental Relations

THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. By Morton Grodzins. Edited by Daniel Elazar. Rand McNally & Company, 405 Park Avenue, New York, 1967. 420 pp. \$6.00.

Perhaps no academician has had a more pervasive impact on American federalism in recent years than the late Professor Morton Grodzins. He is responsible for such colorful metaphors as the "marble cake," "shared activities," and the "multiple cracks." Emphasizing cooperative rather than conflicting aspects, he can claim credit for the current rhetoric of President Johnson that ours is a great partnership among governments, if not a creative one. What makes this book valuable is not so much the pungency of the phrases as the factual and meaningful presentation of how federalism has dynamically changed over time. While the validity of some of the author's conclusions can be challenged, especially his belief we have always had a sharing operation going under federalism, the stuff of this book is worthwhile. There has been and continues to be plenty of conflict!

The book reads more pleasantly than the rather dull work on intergovernmental relations produced by Brooke Graves. The chapters on the police, recreation, the party system, the Negroes and fiscal aspects have much to commend them. They serve to refute the nonsense from "radical right" demagogues that the federal growth has been a conspira-

torial plot. Major public policies are hammered out at the national level in response to political pressures from State and local political organizations, serving as a check against concentrates of power at the center. Politics at the periphery in America insures that both legislative and administrative sub-systems are responsive to local needs and demands. "The politics of administration is a process of making peace with legislators who, for the most part, consider themselves the guardians of local interests."

The undisciplined, loose character of the party system also produces a free and open game in which people and institutions help shape policy at the center.

The City

THE ACHIEVING GHETTO. By Eugene P. Foley. National Press, Inc., 128 C Street, N.E., Washington, D. C., 20002, 1968, 156 pp. Paper, \$2.45.

As Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Development, Eugene P. Foley was responsible for the rehabilitation of depressed areas which were predominantly rural and white. He could not help wondering aloud why similar programs were not used in the urban Negro ghettos. When his "elemental question" drew no answer, and no encouragement from his fellow bureaucrats, he devised his own answer in the form of this remarkable book.

Foley's nine-point "Marshall Plan" for the cities utilizes to a large extent existing legal mechanisms and practices. His first point, designing a lease guaranty program to attract private capital to the ghetto, would imitate the loan guarantee program of the Small Business Administration (SBA), of which he was once administrator.

Under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 many cities, or sections of cities, did not qualify as redevelopment areas. A slight change